THE PROTESTANT

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APRIL-MAY-JUNE, 1951 Edited by Kenneth Leslie

HUNGARIAN PROTESTANTS
ADMONISH
WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

CHURCH-BUSINESS PARTNERSHIP
By
Rev. Erwin A. Gaede

Editorials

FROM CATACOMB TO CATASTROPHE
LETTER TO "NYE" BEVAN
MACARTHUR: SCAPEGOAT OR CATAPULT?

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THE CHURCH-BUSINESS PARTNERSHIP

By The Rev. Erwin A. Gaede

"The Spirit of God has been at work" concluded Dr. Samuel McCrea Cavert at the first meeting of the General Board of the National Council of Churches of Christ. Previously Dr. Cavert had looked upon the creation of a "Lay Sponsors Committee" with misgiving. But now his mind had changed, there need be no fear that "anybody is selling out to anybody else", and Dr. Cavert proposed that the Laymen's Committee should have an "overarching" position in the whole structure of the National Council.

Delegates had come from far and wide to the constituting convention in Cleveland and were surprisingly confronted with a National Laymen's Committee headed by J. Howard Pew "sponsoring" the new organization. The question now was: "What have we done?", "Should we have done it?", "How far can we go?".

At no time did the General Board propose to dispense with these lay "leaders". The question for discussion was: how can we best use them? Shall the separate committee be retained, or shall its members be placed in "functioning, decision-making agencies" of the Council? The suggestion was even made that inasmuch as pronouncements by church groups should be reviewed by laymen to assure their being "representative", it may as well be made official! The matter was left for a special committee to work out proper integration with the new National Council.

So the problem is the pronouncements again. It will be remembered that some time ago Dr. Cavert went to some trouble to answer charges that the Federal Council had expressed pro-communist sympathies in its frequent pronouncements. These attacks have worried the Federal Council and every precaution was to be taken that it wouldn't happen again.

Now how can the National Council honestly be attacked as a communist front if its Constituting Convention is sponsored by a National lay committee headed by a J. Howard Pew? Most everyone knows that Mr. Pew, former president of Sun Oil Co. is a most conservative Republican and an arch-enemy of communism in any form.

What most everyone does not know however is that Mr. Pew has contributed to a number of anti-Semitic organizations such as: American Liberty League, $20,000; Sentinels of the Republic, $5,000; Crusaders, $4,000; and National Economy $5,000. (George Seldes, "1000 Americans"; "74th Congress, 2nd Session, Digest of Data," Special Committee to Investigate Lobbying Activities, U.S. Senate).

It was the Sentinels which had said that "the old line Americans of $1,200 a year want a Hitler" and Roosevelt brought "a Jewish brigade" to Washington, and "the Jewish threat is a real one."

Of course one should not judge the Lay Sponsors Committee by Mr. Pew alone. There is Harvey Firestone, an endorser and financial subsidizer of Buchmanism, Noel Sargent of the N.A.M., Barclay Acheson of "Reader's Digest", Charles E. Wilson, "resigned" president

of General Electric, John Holmes, president of Swift and Company, Edward J. Ryerson, chairman and director of Inland Steel Co., etc. etc. If it were not so tragic one could have a most amusing time looking up these business men, interested in Protestant unity, in "Who's Who". One would be staggered by the fact that they sit not merely on the board of one corporation, but on as many as a dozen corporations, banks, insurance companies, railroad systems, etc. along with membership and honorary membership in the N.A.M.

What has happened to Protestantism that it finds it advisable, if not necessary, to be "sponsored" by such a committee? Is this an example of the "Spirit of God at work" in American Protestantism? Will the Anti-Defamation League now continue to make financial contributions to the National Council as it did to the Federal Council for its work on anti-Semitism?

What moral right or justification will leaders of the National Council have to shake the stick of "secularism" at the social forces of our society when they themselves parade under its banners? Has the fear of being called a communist become pathological even among church leaders driving them into an open alliance with the cartelized corporations of our day? How much further can these men go in embracing their right-wing opponents?

One morning at the Cleveland Conference the program was quickly interrupted to present Mr. J. Howard Pew. After informing the delegates that "the Protestant minister differs from the layman principally in the fact that he has been relieved of the necessity of earning his livelihood", Mr. Pew went to work on more important matters. He neatly divided the world into Christian and pagan, deplored the destruction of Christianity and with it "individual liberty" in the pagan world, and then proceeded to call for a "Christian revival which can resist Communism"! Mr. Pew accepted the chairmanship of the "Lay Sponsors Committee" because, he said, "we all realize that Christianity is inexorably tied to freedom, just as paganism is tied to Communism".

Mr. Pew finds Christianity the strongest bulwark against communism because "Protestant Christianity is the Christianity of individual liberty". This individual liberty, now the child of Protestantism, has made possible "the greatest spectacle of human progress ever witnessed throughout history. It was achieved only because there was complete religious freedom and a wide-open invitation to all the genius, inventive ability, organizing capacity, and managerial skill of a great people".

Certainly readers of "The Protestant" do not need to be told what all this means. They know enough about the N.A.M., the concentration of economic wealth, monopolies, cartels, the interrelations of business and government to sense what Pew is driving at. The question is: how long are we to put up with it? How long must we go along with such a spectacle? When and how can an organization of Protestant clergymen be built in America which will reject the official marriage of Big Church with Big Business pledged to the "holy crusade" against communism?

Already the National Council has rationalized the use of Atomic bombs provided they are used "with restraint"! How much deeper

into the mire of blasphemy can ecclesiastical Protestantism sink than that? If this be the "Spirit of God at work", then who can help us?

In one sense, perhaps, the leaders in the National Council responsible for the union of Big-Business and Big-Church, for the approval of the use of Atomic bombs and of the "police-action" in Korea, are not to be too severely criticized for what they have done. For they are among the victims of the cold war which has succeeded so well in driving its cruel wedge into the American public, dividing a man against his own household. They are among the victims of a cartel world mad and reckless in its thrust for power and money and security. The engineers of the cold war do not even want a middle ground anymore: either you're with us or you're a Red. Once granted this cold war climate, how could one reasonably expect a "National" Council of Churches, led by clergymen and laymen of prestige, status and social influence to take positions which would destroy their prestige, status and social influence? How could one expect the National Council of Churches to condemn using the Atom bomb when that is what the Stockholm Appeal called for?

On August 2, 1950, the Federal Council warned the American people "to be on their guard lest they be misled by the so-called 'Stockholm Appeal' now being circulated by Communists and pro-Communist groups". From there it is only one inescapable step to approve the use of the Atomic bombs. It is quite inconceivable to have expected them to have done otherwise: once they have nailed their loyalties to Protestantism's "Spitzenverbunde"—The National Council of Churches.

On the other hand, such a development should never be taken as inevitable. One need not accept the pronouncements of the National Council of Churches. One can reject them. This of course may entail certain sacrifices, but aren't Christians called upon to make sacrifices in a world like ours? I have read the beatitudes in Matthew often, but only recently did I appreciate this significant variation in Luke: "Blessed are ye, when men shall hate you, and when they shall separate you from their company".

There is in Madison, Wisconsin, a new organization known as "The American Council of Christian Laymen" led by Verne P. Kaub, long an apologist for the free enterprisers. This organization has been attacking the Federal Council of Churches as pro-communist. With the merger of the Federal Council with the National Council, Mr. Kaub says that "The Federal Council has gone underground". When I objected to his criticisms of the two Councils as pro-communist, pointing out J. Howard Pew as chairman of the Lay Sponsors Committee, Mr. Kaub said that Mr. Pew was a close friend of his and that he recently had had an exchange of correspondence with him. He went on to say, in the course of our conversation, that he (Mr. Pew) had written that we should not consider the possibilities of capturing the National Council as remote. Mr. Kaub feels that the Lay Sponsors Committee was organized only to "dress-up" the National Council.

But we need not take Mr. Kaub's word for it. When Mr. Pew talks about the necessity of "speaking in public with a single tongue", "ways in which lay people can build new levels of influence and usefulness", and "This is an open door; I can imagine no greater opportunity;

here is challenge of large order", what else could he mean? Business leaders have for long complained that clergymen are not "competent" to deal with economic issues and that pronouncements from them would be far more "representative" if they included lay participation.

The National Council was not, nor will it be, captured by a single act. The establishment of the National Council is a manifestation of the movement toward concentration of religious-economic power and wealth. In this development Big Church and Big Business become partners. They now face together that crisis in capitalism where a choice will need to be made: will they take the final step into fascism.

A preacher's burdens are not lifted, nor is he "safer" once he has assented to the Atomic bomb; rather, his burdens will become increasingly heavy. It is better to make a choice early than too late, for time is running out.

BISHOP PETER AT WORLD PEACE COUNCIL

At the Berlin Congress of the World Council of Peace, Bishop John Peter, of the Hungarian Reformed Church, explained Hungary's Law in Defence of Peace, enacted last year, against all war propaganda, providing punishments for the crime of carrying on war propaganda. In Hungary, he said, both leaders and people serve the cause of peace. They are gravely concerned that the United Nations, instead of settling moot questions peaceably, has, by making one-sided decisions, by tacitly tolerating and so, in effect, supporting the plans of rearming the Germans and Japanese, actually adds to the gravity of the international situation. The exclusion of the Chinese People's Republic from the UN is another fact which tends to disillusion us as to this organization. Hence an increased responsibility rests on the World Council of Peace to promote a peaceful world.

In the Hungarian Roman Church, he said, a powerful movement has been launched with nation-wide peace committees. One of these declares: "We have resolved to mobilise the great masses of Catholic believers for the realization of the Warsaw resolutions."

As early as the Peace Rally of Paris the Hungarian Protestant Churches joined the peace partisans, said Bishop Peter. Speaking for the Hungarian Churches, he appealed to Western churchmen to promote, from where they stand, the solidarity of all friends of peace, to prevent Christian doctrine from being used to camouflage imperialistic designs, to unmask those who hypocritically conceal their war plans under ecclesiastical verbiage, to prevent church organizations from becoming tools of imperialistic war plans.

The Executive Committee of the World Council of Churches, he said, "seems to be sorrowing over the fact that, since their Toronto declaration last year, the interested powers have not been able to settle the Korean problem peacefully." "But the World Council of Churches failed to repent for also supporting, with that very Toronto resolution, exactly those who have been able to obstruct, until now, the peaceful settlement of the Korean crisis. For this resolution unmistakably sides with the aggressors."

THE HUNGARIAN CHURCHES AND THE WORLD COUNCIL

In January of this year the top men of the World Council of Churches met at Bievres, France, to try to rid themselves of a splitting headache which has afflicted the Council since its Toronto meeting last year, at which it supported the UN intervention in Korea.

This support was not concurred in by those Council members from the socialist countries; and, during the latter half of 1950, as the evidence piled up concerning the true nature of the intervention, and as these members learned of the unprecedented sufferings of the Korean people at the hands of an agency supported by a council of which they were members, the bonds of fellowship were strained.

Bievres was called by the Bishop of Chichester to assay the damage and if possible to repair it. The meeting is described by one of the participants, Dr. Walter Van Kirk, in "National Council Outlook" (March, 1951).

Dr. Van Kirk tells how at this meeting Bishop Oxnam brought up the question: why was the US losing friends?

The answer was: the US appears to be forcing its way of life on the rest of the world; its movies corrupt the culture of Europe; its policy of keeping China out of the UN is not right; its domestic racism and its economic imperialism are disquieting.

Dr. Van Kirk says that "while the American churchmen at Bievres conceded the validity of certain of these criticisms at certain points they undertook to set the record straight at other points." But he does not indicate specifically at what points the record needed straightening.

Dr. Van Kirk says "it was announced that the Hungarian delegate had been denied an exit permit" and that no reply to his invitation had been received from Dr. Hromadka of Czechoslovakia.

The executive committee of the World Council approved and sent to the member churches a pastoral letter which took into account the views of the Bievres gathering.

According to Dr. Van Kirk these views included the following:

"The upsurge of the masses for political and economic and social justice (is) of the most crucial importance in the determination of strategy by governments, and in the formulation of policy by the churches.

"This upsurge of the masses has, in many instances, fallen under the influence and direction of totalitarian and materialistic movements, which imperil the spiritual and social aims of the peoples.

"There is a danger that the more favored nations will too long cling to those concepts of freedom that are not sufficiently related to the social and economic realities of our times.

"The rearmament of the West—the need for which is conceded by many, may, on the one hand, precipitate the military conflict which it is hoped may be avoided and, on the other hand, so lower the standard of living in the West as to result in social and economic collapse.

"The real victim of the world's disorder is man, ordinary

man, who is pushed around as a refugee or a displaced person or is left in need and desolation, to shift for himself. Increasing numbers of the world's youth are becoming nihilistic because there appears to be no livable future.

"The peoples of the nations must learn in a new way to share sacrificially by feeding the hungry, opening their lands to refugees, and by programs of technical assistance to those who live in underdeveloped areas.

"The United Nations must be vigorously supported. Where it is weak it must be strengthened. The attempt to make the United Nations a more perfect and adequate instrument of world order must be continued.

"The door to negotiations between the Great Powers must be kept open at all times.

"Within the life and work of the churches the duty is clear to keep fellowship intact regardless of divisions and tensions within the secular order.

"The churches of the West have the special duty of warning their peoples and governments not to place too strong reliance on military might since it is in spiritual resources that a world in revolution will find the solution to its many problems."

Perhaps without intending to do so the West allowed a note of condescension to qualify its attitude towards the churches in countries building socialism. For instance this:

"The churches in the East are not forgotten. That Christians in these areas are trying to obey their Lord under the most difficult circumstances is cause for great rejoicing." Or again, "We would assure our Christian brethren under totalitarian regimes that we rejoice with them in the evidence that the Word of God makes its power felt among them."

It was further concluded that there was no need either to reaffirm or to rescind the Toronto statement on aggression in Korea.

A gracious and spirited reply from the Hungarian member churches of the World Council to the Bievres message is published in the "Hungarian Church Press" (March 15, 1951). It is based on the significant text "The time is come that judgment must begin at the house of God." (I Peter, 4:17) We quote that part of this historically important message which deals concretely and directly with the problems raised by the Executive Committee of the World Council:

"We are grateful for your frank admission that 'the international situation has greatly changed since the Central Committee met at Toronto,' 'that the effort to contain and resolve the conflict in Korea has thus far proved unsuccessful,' that, instead, 'the international situation has seriously deteriorated and mankind has been brought once more to the brink of a world war.'

"Yet, much as we appreciated this sincere admission and clear assessment of the situation, we were just as much surprised and saddened by the absence of something in which, as we see it, these statements should find their necessary continuation.

"Did it not occur to this highly representative body meeting at Bievres, one year after Toronto, that repentance might be felt for the mistaken line taken at that time by our Churches' international organization which is called to fulfil such great tasks?

"Was the Executive Committee unaware of the disquieting circumstance, even after the experiences of a whole year, that at Toronto under some atmospheric pressure a resolution had been passed (without the hearing of a part of the Churches and definitely contradicted by them afterwards) whereby the Central Committee decidedly contributed to that serious deterioration in the international situation which is now stated in your letter with such laudable frankness?

"It would be certainly unworthy of an ecclesiastical body to try to escape the imperative of repentant self-scrutiny by referring, as an excuse, to other—undoubtedly existing—causes of this deterioration.

"We are grateful also for the clear and true statement of the fact that 'underlying the explosive character of the world scene' there is an unsolved problem. This problem consists in what is a novel feature in the world's history: the 'vast upsurge' of unprivileged millions and the struggle of hitherto subjugated masses of people for a free and independent life.

"You speak of 700 millions who have recently won independence, and go on to mention that the same process is noticeable elsewhere. You state that 'some countries have been the scene of far-reaching social reform'.

"We are grateful that there is agreement between us in regarding these transformations as momentous facts of history. We are grateful also for the words in which you so earnestly stand up for 'man' who is often (although not everywhere) the victim of these changes.

"We heartily agree with you that it is the calling of the Church 'to bring the comfort and strength of the Gospel to confused and threatened man' and help him to 'learn anew the meaning of hope and peace'. Yet, here again, we are startled by what seems to us to be a lack in your statements.

"From behind these quite true statements of fact contained in your letter there should radiate forth the great truth that this world-shaking uprise of hundreds of millions of people is to be understood as an act of God in His governance of history, as an act of His judgment and mercy at the same time. And that therefore we as Churches and as Christians cannot but welcome this 'vast upsurge' of mankind.

"At the same time, as regards ourselves, we accept it penitently as a grave sentence passed over us, inasmuch as we failed to lament over, and failed to love and serve 'man' during the past decades when he was such a wretched 'victim,' millions of him in China, in India, and elsewhere.

"Has not the time come for the Church to avow in deep penitence her sins of omission in failing to this very day to render the service to suffering 'man' she ought to have rendered?

"The accusing countenance of 700 millions proclaims our sentence! And should we not be thankful to God that he did not wait until the conscience of the churches had awakened—paying lip-service so often to their ideals of 'Christian civilization' and 'Christian culture'—

but that He sent the world forward by His other means on new roads on which we—intimidated by the undeniable difficulties and hampered by all our old thoughts and habits—tremble to set our feet?

"We are grateful also that you went into details with regard to three specific problems.

"First, the 'totalitarian doctrine and system'. On this subject we have nothing new to say. You have felt prompted, after making humble reference to your 'limitations,' to renew repeatedly your intense and hard words against this doctrine and system. We are glad that all this notwithstanding you assure us that 'you rejoice with us in the evidence that the Word of God makes its power felt among us'.

"We have tried repeatedly, in words, in writing, by demonstrating on the spot to church leaders invited from abroad, how we live, as a Church under the rule of Jesus Christ, in a country which is building up socialism.

"These brethren from abroad have testified—in a way which moved us and made us to feel ashamed—to the renewal of our Churches.

"If it is also your conviction 'that the Word of God makes its power felt among us,'—and we pray from our hearts that this renewal of our Churches which has but begun so far, may become ever deeper and fuller,—should this fact not suggest to you that there might be some incongruity in those hard statements which you made but failed to substantiate?

"Should there be brethren in your ranks who, under the influence of an open or unconscious worldly bias, i.e. owing to their politically preoccupied minds, would raise doubts as to whether we are really Churches and our voice is that of Churches, in this case we would respectfully and in love pose our counter-questions. Why is it the Church feels herself at home in the capitalistic system? Does she really obey the will of the Lord in a world based upon this system?

"If she abhors a change, is it because it would endanger her life as a Church or because it would radically change the environment in which she lives comfortably?

"You deal with the problem of rearmament, although you move in generalities. It is of particular importance for us to ask you: why did you, in dealing with the question of rearmament, so carefully avoid the issue of Germany's rearmament?

"We would wish to know whether the information published in the world press is correct that Pastor Niemoller tried to put this question on the agenda, but without success, and should this information be true to fact, what your reasons were to bar this question of great relevancy and urgency. It is a fact that in your letter there is not a single reference to it.

"And yet you claim that you are perfectly free to speak the voice of the Church in the system in which you live. It is from an anxious sense of responsibility that we raise the question: will not this cautious avoidance of such an important world problem inflict its vengeance upon the authority of the World Council of Churches which is as dear to us as to any other member Church?

"Then another world issue: Asia. Your letter lays stress upon the importance of strengthening the authority of the UN by all means.

This, of course, should be the concern and the task of the UN itself primarily.

"As a matter of fact, in your comparatively short letter you take five occasions to stress the unique significance of the UN, as though it would be a specific task of Church organizations to hasten to the support of the authority of this international organization which, after having been launched on its career with such high hopes, has come to be surrounded by increasing diffidence.

"We do not wish to enter upon the discussion of the question whether this is right and feasible or not. But it is obvious to our mind that the UN is exerting a great influence upon your thinking and it is presumable that likewise also you may have ways and means to influence the UN. It would have satisfied us if you had uttered a serious Christian word, warning the UN that any settlement of Asia's affairs is unthinkable without China's participation.

"The government of China has been recognized long ago by Great Britain. Is it possible to uphold further the fallacy—you have strong words against fallacies—that a really existing state with 450 millions of inhabitants is being ignored while a fictitious government is being kept figuring in its place?

"Respectfully and in love we would propose to you to exert all your influence that the UN may become again what it was meant to be, the first step towards this being to give China the place which she as one of the five Great Powers deserves.

"So, with regard to the problem of rearmament, there are two concrete steps to be taken: to take a stand against Germany's rearmament and in favor of China's admission to the UN.

"The third subject which you especially stress in your letter concerns social justice. We are very grateful to learn that in dealing with this problem you were possessed by a 'sense of urgency'. We deeply feel at one with you in all that you have said, in this connection, about the Church's repentance. We too realize that in matters of personal sacrifice and responsibility we as Christians must do all we can.

"We pay high respect especially to your courage in going beyond stressing the individual duties of Christians which never lose their relevance, and in applying to the problem in its entirety the well-known Marxian thesis: 'From each according to his ability, to each according to his need,' stating that this maxim 'has its roots in the teaching of Jesus'. If you humbly combine this statement with what you said about the problem 'underlying the explosive character of the world scene,' i.e. the 'vast upsurge' of the masses of hundreds of millions, you will certainly agree with us that in the new world which is emerging in our days amidst such birth-pangs and suffering, we have to recognize the just and merciful governance of our God who rules over all.

"At the present moment we regard the cause of peace to be the decisive issue...A very great and honourable task awaits the Churches and even the World Council of Churches in this matter. We are bold to speak about this because we are anxious lest the World Council, misreading the signs of the times, might cling to a doomed past instead of searching for the path leading into the future."

FROM CATACOMB TO CATASTROPHE
The Role of the Vatican in World Politics

By Kenneth Leslie

—From 1870 to 1929 Rome often spoke of her "imprisonment". Then she came "out of the catacombs" escorted by Mussolini.

The Vatican sits pretty in West Germany today where the Western nations who have hardly caught their breath after War II are re-arming their enemy—this time as their ally, they hope!

The Protestants, led by Niemoeller and Dibelius, have served notice on West Germany that the Protestant churches would uncompromisingly oppose German rearmament. As Leo Lania says in "United Nations World" (Dec. 1950) the German Protestants "think of the defense of the West as the defense of Catholicism."

How long before American Protestants learn this lesson?

Vatican-US Runs UN

According to a highly-placed official of the United Nations, writing anonymously in the "N. Y. Compass" (Dec. 17, 1950), "The UN worships a God who is a Christian American with Roman Catholic leanings." Of course the Americans run the show ("at least two out of three of the Secretariat staff are American citizens"). Byron Price screens the staff and handles the budget, buildings management, planning, inspection, field service including missions (for instance to Korea). Trygve Lie is the public front of the UN but the real work is done by an American, Andrew Cordier, "who runs the General Assembly" and "supervises the execution of all political policy," who, for instance, "handled the Korean business." Abe Feller, another American, is Legal Counsel to the Secretary General. "He is the man who tells Trygve Lie how to make it legal, how to draft loopholes, how, for example to use language which to the uninitiated made the Korean business appear in accordance with the Charter."

Delegates tell how "the Americans have gone to their ambassador, or to their government, complained of their position, and succeeded in getting it reversed. There is no face-saving. The reversed delegate must be made to look like a punished schoolboy." And referring to the fundamental anti-Russian line which all delegates must follow, the author of this article says that a "strong force in this direction is the Roman Catholic Church which largely dominates the vote of the 21 Latin American countries, of the Philippines, the Netherlands, Australia, Canada, Belgium, Luxembourg. In this, the Church and United States foreign policy run parallel." And how they run parallel!

Vatican Hex on UN Birth

Right at its birth the Vatican hexed the United Nations. Just before the San Francisco Conference the American hierarchy made a statement in which they said that now that Fascism and Nazism were out of the way, Marxism was the enemy. Thus the Vatican on the eve of a

peace conference declared war on our ally in a war some of us had fondly thought of as anti-fascist.

Then clerical fascist Argentina joined the UN. Was that part of the post-war pattern of "tough" aggressiveness whose final ugly fruit is the present mess in the Far East?

Early in April, 1945, the three faiths, Roman Catholic, Protestant, Jewish, under the leadership of the Roman Catholics, came out for improvements on the proposals for a world organization. The three faiths wanted membership "open to all states willing and able to fulfill the obligations of the charter." This meant that the doors of the United Nations Organization should be open to states like Eire or Spain who were either fascist themselves or at any rate not anti-fascist.

Already the Dominican Republic had joined the United Nations on January 1, 1942. Then Panama, Nicaragua, El Salvador, Honduras and Haiti joined along with Costa Rica, Colombia and Luxembourg. Paraguay and Peru joined on February 14, 1945. All these were "Christian" (that is, Roman Catholic) states. Venezuela joined on February 20, 1945, another "Christian" state. Naturally the Vatican could depend upon most of them to vote the way it wanted them to vote.

In going over the list of the United Nations as printed in the "New York Times" of April 26th, 1945, one finds among them a great number of tiny states, most of which did not and could not take any real part in the anti-fascist fight and in which the influence of the Vatican is paramount. In many ways the anti-fascist record even of Canada and the United States, speaking from a political point of view, was vitiated. Both continued to nurse the Petain government long after it was obvious that Petain was an ally of Hitler. And never for an instant forget their betrayal of Spain, a direct consequence of Vatican pressure.

Secret Weapon—The "Christian Thesis"

But now read the editorial in "The New World," "Chicago's Official Catholic Paper," April 6th, 1945, which after its usual anti-Soviet prelude, suggests a solution for the problem which our State Department faces in what it calls the "unyielding attitude of the Soviet." The solution is that "our statesmen bring forth the one secret weapon not yet used in World War II, the Christian thesis, which, although not in the class of a howitzer, nevertheless conquered millions on the battle fronts of equality among men. We suspect that San Francisco will succeed or fail according to the emphasis on just this proposition. A good deal of salesmanship will be involved. Look again at the list of nationals who will have their say."

On looking again at the list of nationals who will have their say we were reminded of a feeling we had when we first observed the flags of the United Nations. Why was it necessary to collect such an array of tiny states and how did it happen that so many of them were vassals of the Vatican? Well, "The New World" gives us more than a hint as to what it is all about.

Subsequent events make us certain that the Vatican was clever enough to salt away votes in the UN Assembly against the day when it would have killed the unanimity principle in the Security Council.

Vatican Measures Democracy for a Black Shirt

Going back to Christmas, 1944, we have the Pope himself preparing the ingredients for the San Francisco hex. His Holiness put out a statement which was hailed by the brazenly mendacious press of the US as a defense of democracy. This was a Goebbel's dream-lie. For the Papacy to have come out for democracy would have been a revocation of its own anathema against toleration, repeated innumerable times since Constantine.

What the Pope actually did was to demand that American democracy come under the domination of the Vatican.

"A sound democracy," he said, "will resolutely turn its back on such corruption as gives to the state legislature an unchecked and unlimited power, and, moreover, makes of the democratic regime, notwithstanding an outward show to the contrary, purely and simply a form of absolutism." This absolutism consists "in the false principle that the authority of the state is unlimited and that...to appeal to a higher law obliging in conscience is not admitted." This "higher law" is the "absolute order set up by the Creator and placed in a new light by the revelation of the Gospel." All laws of all states, democratic or otherwise, must conform to the higher law which is entrusted to the Roman Catholic Church. In other words democracy will be permitted provided it conforms to canon law and executes the will of the Vatican. This was a blueprint for a clerical-fascist America. And yet it was front-paged all over America as a declaration for democracy.

After placing democracy definitely within the framework of Vatican hegemony, the Pope goes on to place any possible organization for peace within the same framework. Having for 1,500 years entrusted the protection of this framework to absolute monarchies, and having during the past few decades entrusted it to that quintessence of absolutism which goes under the name of fascism, the Pope had to call upon every reserve of his rhetoric to transfer this duty to the democracies.

Vatican Disowns Its Child

How does he manage it? First, the war itself, which was at least in part the Papacy's own war and out of which it had hoped to gain a new lease on life, His Holiness reduces through rhetorical device into a gigantic accident. Stressing the horrible aspects of war he tried to make the reader forget that if the war is a monstrous evil on the part of the aggressors it is all the more a valiant and courageous struggle for good on the part of those he calls the "inert" masses.

Thus the Pope's "fatherly anguish" tries to hide the fact that he, self-styled arbiter of morality on this earth, actually relegates to the same category of naughty children the Nazi beast and his terrorized and tortured prey.

Vatican Demeans Resistance

The Holy Father spoke of the cry which comes from the manger of Bethlehem and which "resounds in the ear of men at a time when

the dignity (of man) is tragically low." But the dignity of man was never higher in the history of the world than it was at that moment and during the entire period of the conflict. Never before did so many men resist tyranny with such high valor, with such mutual forgiveness and understanding, or with higher hopes for a world of brotherhood.

This new world was entering into being to the tread of the armies of the united anti-fascist nations and of the partisan resistance forces in Europe and in Asia and of the vast multitudes of the common people everywhere who know that their time has come, that time foreseen of old when to righteousness would be added power and glory.

Vatican and China

In June, 1946, John Roderick, AP correspondent, reported that American prestige in China was "careening downhill at a rate so precipitous that it will take most drastic action in Washington to curb it."

Drastic action was indeed taken in Washington, not to curb it, but to spur it, by pouring more billions into Chiang's pocket. Was the Vatican in on this too? Yes.

Archbishop Yu Pin cursed the Communists long and lustily in "The China Monthly," which is listed in the Catholic Almanac as an official Roman Catholic publication, although its priest editors were listed on its own masthead without the "Reverend". Yu Pin was very frank about the Communists: "we would certainly have exterminated them had not the Japanese forced President Chiang to break off his campaign and turn against the invaders." It may be remembered, however, that it was the Chinese Communists themselves who persuaded Chiang to turn against the Japanese.

Representative Walter H. Judd inserted into the Congressional Record a tirade in "The China Monthly" by Father Shanahan against the Chinese Communists. That magazine opposed General Marshall's mission to unify China, hammering away at the same fixed idea of all Roman Catholic propaganda: Sovietism succeeds Nazism as world enemy.

Having received the red hat at the Vatican war consistory in 1946, the new Chinese Cardinal Tien called for a preventive war on Russia without delay. Yes, the Vatican was in it all over the globe.

Vatican Changes Horses

The Hitler Nazi-Fascist steed having been shot out from under the Vatican it leaped to the back of Truman's "democracy" and quickly slipped the authoritarian bridle over its head. Truman could be depended upon. Remember the Roman Catholic bosses of the Democratic party that nurtured him, grew him and put him where he is today. The State Department is loyal to him and besides has been staffed with progressively larger numbers of Roman Catholic career men. The Secretary of the Navy, the Chief of Staff of the Army, the Attorney General, are all Vatican-line Romans, loyal subjects of the King of Vatican City.

The man who administers the law of the US is a leader of Catholic Action, a papal knight, a fanatic crusader of the revived and aggressive Papacy whose American subjects have brought America to

the point of suing for the friendship of Franco, a name for obscenity. In America it may soon be considered treasonable to speak ill of Franco. For Falangism, the Spanish form of fascism, according to Franco's Foreign Minister, Alberto Martin Artajo ("N.Y. Times," Dec. 14, 1950) has won "victory at Lake Success." America needs Spain and Spain offers her friendship and is "willing to forget her wrongs".

Vatican Talks Business

It was in 1940 that the Pope wrote to America (in an allocution to the American bishops) his bid for the friendship of reactionary big businessmen: "The history of every age teaches that there were always rich and poor; that it will always be so we may gather from the unchanging tenor of human destinies."

Thus the Roman pastor's words of comfort for the Rich Young Man whom Jesus sent away sorrowful, comfort for the investor in companies slowly sucking the blood of the exploited millions who dare to question this idea of the permanence of their poverty.

There is much connected with Vatican dealings with Hitler that the world will never see for the simple reason that a Vatican agent Msgr. Walsh of Georgetown University (which trains those career men for the US State Department) was entrusted by the US Government to sift all relevant letters, private messages, memoranda and other records of Hitler-Vatican dealings. But the basic facts are admitted by Roman Catholic writers who state openly that Hitler was helped to power by the Vatican, and the clear record shows that the Vatican collaborated with Hitler (in spite of partners' quarrels) to the very end.

Vatican Subverts American Constitution

Now one aspect of fascism is its reaction against our modern world and our escape from the incubus of authoritarianism. So before looking at the story of Vatican collaboration with the rise of world fascism let us look at the plain words of the Papal Encyclicals which show what the Vatican thinks of the modern world.

The clearest of all is the "Syllabus of Errors" of Pope Pius IX (1864). What are these errors? They are simply everything you believe in and practice, for instance, that religion is free, that the Church should not use force, that education and communication should be free.

This Syllabus also taught that the Church ought not to be separated from the State and the State from the Church, that the Roman Catholic religion should be the only religion of the State to the exclusion of all other religions, and that the Roman Pontiff cannot, and ought not to, reconcile himself, and come to terms with progress, liberalism and modern civilization.

Then there is the celebrated "Immortale Dei" of Leo XIII (1885) which condemns everything the American Declaration of Independence stands for.

Coming down to the parochial instruction of children who will grow up to be American citizens here are a few questions and answers from a Manual of Christian Doctrine (48th edition, authorized and with

the Archbishop's imprimatur) as quoted by Marshall, "The Roman Catholic Church in the Modern State":

112. Why are the qualities of the (Roman) Church superior to those of civil society, or the State?

Because the (Roman) Church is a religious and supernatural society, while the State is temporal and natural. The (Roman) Church is a universal, immutable, and immortal society, while the State is particular, variable, and temporal.

116. What right has the Pope in virtue of this supremacy?

The right to annul those laws or acts of government that would injure the salvation of souls or attack the natural rights of citizens.

122. May the State separate itself from the (Roman) Church?

No, because it may not withdraw from the supreme rule of Christ.

123. What name is given to the doctrine that the State has neither the right nor the duty to be united to the (Roman) Church to protect it?

This doctrine is called Liberalism. It is founded principally on the fact that modern society rests on liberty of conscience and of worship, on liberty of speech and of the press.

In "Mortalium Animos" (Pius XI, 1928) the same claims are reaffirmed and in encyclical after encyclical from then down to the present moment they have been repeated.

Business Cartel and Church Monopoly

What is the background of the Vatican collaboration with fascism? What explains its tie-up with this particular political creed? To answer this question it will be necessary to look at the concentrated industrial power which through cartel arrangements controls the economy of whole nations and groups of nations and which constitutes a serious threat to freedom, democracy, and peace.

Take for example the International Steel Cartel (described in detail in a book of that title by Ervin Hexner; Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1943).

In the 17th century an iron master, Dud Dudley, invented a better iron making process and sold his iron for less than the going price. His rivals, after due warning, moved in, destroyed his tools and chucked him bodily out of his own plant. That was in staid old England and was an example of the kind of forceful cooperation which later became the steel cartel. This cartel is simply the uniting of groups of steel producers who are also steel exporters to control the movement and price of steel throughout the world by means of rules, understandings (often not written) and threats.

The effect of the cartel is to hold production at a level determined by the price convenience of the cartel members. The cartel is an agreement in restraint of trade. It is restrictive, not expansive. As the magazine "Fortune" put it (April, 1936) "...steel men have geared their industry to the philosophy of high prices and restricted production." Speaking of Hitler's Germany "Fortune" (Sept., 1942) said "The

cartels became the real government anonymously ruling the life of the nation down to the last details..." Blurted the British steelman Viscount Greenwood of Holbourne at a dinner in London (1939), "The representatives of the steel industries and, indeed, of all other industries from all parts of the world can sit around the common table, and without raising their voices come to quick decisions of national and international importance, affecting the lives of millions of men throughout the world." ("International Steel Cartel", page 228).

Business Feudalism

The giant corporations organized into monopolies and cartels are controlled by family groups, DuPonts, Mellons, Rockefellers, Fords, in somewhat the same way that family dynasties ruled medieval Europe.

Now the Vatican power was at home with those dynasties. It grew up with them. And so today after a long estrangement from capitalism in its competitive phase it finds itself suddenly at home with these new concentrations of power in the hands of private families.

The agents of the Vatican meet the chieftains of the great business clans at the highest level of government. Understanding the mechanics and dynamics of power, talking the language of power, they are able to give a point or two to these fellows just turning the latest page of a history the Vatican is thoroughly familiar with.

"Public Relations"—Alladin's Lamp

You may remember when one of the large radio networks instructed its commentators that cartels were not news. Secrecy is the very air the cartels breathe and of course the big customers of the radio are members of the cartels.

In this instruction we could see the part played in the development of cartel economy by what are called "public relations" which feed press and radio with sympathetic items. Since the word "cartel" has a bad odor they try to erase the word from the public consciousness. The accepted word is "free enterprise" the name of the very thing the cartels have done away with.

These procedures are adequate in times of peace. But when war or revolution interrupts the quiet freezing or cartelization of world economy a super public relations job is called for.

We have not mentioned the obvious fact that cartel economy has a rival, socialist economy. World War II, although on the face of it a war between two cartel groups, often revealed a war within the war, a hidden war between cartel economy and socialist economy. That hidden war is now showing itself clearly in Asia and in the preparations going forward in Europe.

In the days of free competition the tussle for economic power gave victory to the strong. And the strong, once established, rolled up their power cumulatively. The snowball became the avalanche and then the glacier: non-competitive big business. Auxiliary businesses, with a certain limited play of competition permitted to go on among them, became subservient to the cartel non-competitive arrangements which

characterize our economy as a whole. For a time the glacier was able to push all before it, but with the rival socialist economy spreading and catching the imagination of vast sections of the world, this cold thing had a full-time job selling itself. This called for that Alladin's lamp of modern times: "public relations".

It was no mean job, for instance, that was done by the Nazi firm of public relations experts; Hitler, Goebbels and Co. when they lined up both creedless wealth and wealthy creeds and flaunted before the world's eyes one of the greatest "public relations" triumphs of all time, the Concordat with the Vatican.

Hitler knew what public relations counsels must always know: who would appease him and why. He knew what he had to sell: protection from socialism. He knew who would buy: all those elements that might lose prestige and power in a socialist world.

Even members of the cartels in enemy countries were Hitler's "hidden ally", their "public relations" his secret weapon, their terror of a democratic economy his "fifth column". This could easily be seen when in 1943 Cardinal (then Archbishop) Spellman to whose authority as head of the richest ecclesiastical seat in the world had been added over the years a tremendous "build-up" in the press, piously whitewashed Franco in "Collier's" magazine. This was part and parcel of a process of deception which antedated Hitler, outdid Hitler and postdated Hitler. And the deception has worked. For today the US wants "in" with Franco. And Franco is ready to forgive the US for misunderstanding him.

The whole line of double talk, "Non-Intervention", "Neutrality", "Justice", "Religion", meaning intervention, war, injustice, irreligion, was public relations with a vengeance and was crowned with the Commu-Nazi story which pretended that Communism was just another form of Nazism. The Vatican initiated this story and has pushed it hard, to the clink of applauding coin whose unsubtle rhythm lured Protestants into the same business. Roosevelt was forced by the Vatican stranglehold over the US electorate to spread this lie and then to betray Spain.

Vatican Peace Equals War

In 1943 the three faiths (sparked by the Jesuit Father Conway) put out their famous "joint statement" on peace. There was nothing "joint" about it, however, as the Jesuit paper "America" admitted, saying: "The Declaration is not even in the proper sense of the word, a 'joint statement'. But it is a clear response to our present Holy Father's 'appeal to the conscience of the world', spoken to all humanity (Christmas, 1942)."

"The first point", said "America", "goes directly to the root of the matter by declaring that the only assured basis of a world order is the Law of God. A collection of separate sovereignties, each independent of any control, cannot be called ordered. There must be an Orderer, a Sovereign higher than any earthly sovereign—and that Sovereign is God. Only when the nations have a 'practical recognition' of the sovereignty of God and the supremacy of the moral law can they advance surely along the road to peace."

The clear meaning of this was that the juridical order which

is to be the basis of a just peace will be the order of the Papacy, the vice-regency of God on earth.

"America" went on, "The proclamation of these truths places upon all men a grave responsibility for their fulfilment...to Catholics above all falls the duty of providing the spiritual leadership in the moral combat for a just world." You see, the Vatican was to lead the "moral combat". And the moral combat was to take the form of a cold war which would become a shooting war. For the plan was not a peace plan but a war plan.

The Vatican has no qualms about working with schismatics and heretics in its present crusade. Today, January, 1951, it is even exchanging cultural missions with its once most formidable enemy, Islam, forming what Prince Mohamed Aly calls their "common front against atheistical Communism."

Encyclicals Charter Fascism

In 1940 sixteen American prelates proposed a "Guild or Corporative System for America." The proposal, says Robert A. Brady ("Business as a System of Power" p. 219) is practically identical with that of the papal encyclical "Quadragesimo Anno" (1931) which formed the basis of Austrian fascism.

"Quadragesimo Anno" was the last of a series of Vatican references to the medieval guilds. Others were "Humanum genus" (1854), "Quod Apostolici muneris" (1878), "Aeterni Patris" (1879), and the famous "Rerum Novarum" (1891) which condemned Socialism, justified social inequality, the accumulation of great wealth, stated that "in a state it is ordained by nature that these two classes (the rich and the poor) should exist in harmony and agreement."

"Quadragesimo Anno" preached the abolition of the class struggle by the formation of vocational groups or corporations. "The corporations are composed of representatives of the unions of workingmen and employers of the same trade or profession, and as true and genuine organs and institutions of the state, they direct and coordinate the activities of the unions in all matters of common interest." Quoting Brady again, "Fixity of status and occupation, the outlawing of strikes and lockouts, and the location of the ultimate powers of umpire and reconciliation in a theologically acceptable totalitarian state assured to His Holiness that 'social harmony' and 'class collaboration' of which Leo XIII had dreamed forty years before."

It would be false to assume that the Vatican was the cause of fascism, which would have appeared without the help of any church-state. Fascism is the last frantic stage of a losing fight on the part of businessmen to control markets and labor. To control these they find they must control everything and everybody including the thoughts of everybody. The implement they use is the fascist police state. But to keep the people of this state satisfied it is necessary to keep them ignorant, amused, and under a hypnosis of hatred for some "enemy". And here is where the Church becomes invaluable to fascism and is enabled to contribute to it her special flavor of clericalism. That is the why of this union of business-state and church-state.

We have looked at the theoretical basis of this union and at the preparatory acts leading to it. Now let us look at a few of the things actually done by the Vatican in helping to bring about a fascist world. The following chronology is but a bare skeleton of the gigantic body of events which occurred all over this globe from 1923-1950, the issue of which is not yet certain.

1923, January: Cardinal Gasparri gets Mussolini to bail out the Bank of Rome, after which the hierarchy began praising Mussolini.

1923, June: Pius XI eliminates Don Sturzo's liberal Popular Party, giving green light to Mussolini.

1926, December: Pius XI in his new year address calls Mussolini "the man sent by providence".

1928, December: Papal Prelate Kass takes over German Centrum. Prepares Germany for Hitler.

1929, February: Concordat and Lateran Accord between Vatican and Mussolini.

1930, March: Bruening takes over German chancellorship and begins secretly arming the Reich and preparing for the shift to an authoritarian government.

1930, June: Pius XI orders that membership in Catholic Action is not to be considered an obstacle to membership in the Italian Fascist Party.

1930, September: Vatican announces that Roman Catholic university professors may take fascist oaths.

1933, January: Papal agent Von Papen arranges pact with Hitler for Vatican support in return for Concordat.

1933, July: Concordat between Vatican and Hitler-Germany signed by Cardinal Pacelli and Franz von Papen, who becomes Papal Chamberlain, gets the Grand Cross of the Order of Pius and declares that in the Concordat: "The Third Reich is the first power in the world not only to recognize but to translate into practice the high principles of the Papacy."

1935, January: German bishops of Treve and Spire issue official proclamation asking the people of the Saar to vote 100% in favor of Hitler. This proclamation decided the fate of the Saar.

1936, May: Pius XI praises Abyssinian war and says in an address: "We feel the need of sharing in the triumphant joy of an entire great and good people over a peace which, it is hoped and intended, will be an effective contribution and prelude to the true peace in Europe and

the world."

1936, August: After the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War and the first protests of the Vatican against the Loyalists, the German bishops publish a Pastoral letter asking their people to back Hitler fully in his intervention in Spain.

1937, January: German Roman Catholic bishops in new year message pledge aid to Hitler in "Europe's drive against the red menace".

1937, June: "Civilta Cattolica," Jesuit paper whose editor is appointed by the Pope, discusses Zionism and characterizes the Jews as "foxy profiteers, who penetrate into all international organizations and especially in two of them, Freemasonry and the League of Nations". The article concludes by advocating that "a suitable way ought to be found to change their wicked mentality".

1938, April: "Civilta Cattolica" writes about Palestine saying that the best solution would be to force the Jews to evacuate Palestine again.

1938, August: Pius XI sends Franco his Apostolic Blessings.

1938, December: In his Christmas message the Pope says about Mussolini and the fascist regime: "We say loudly that after God, our appreciation and thanks go to the very high Persons. We mean the very noble sovereign and his incomparable minister...to whom we owe the fact that the so important and beneficial Lateran agreements of 1929 could be crowned with a good ending and happy success."

1939, April: After the invasion and dismemberment of Czechoslovakia through Hitler the new Pope Pius XII recognizes immediately the independence of Slovakia which under Msgr. Tiso has become a full fledged fascist state.

1939, June: Pius XII greets 3,000 Franco soldiers at the Vatican led by Serrano Suner and tells them: "You have fought for the triumph of Christian ideals. You are the defenders of the Faith."

1939, July: Cardinal Gasparri arrives in the USA to prepare the "juridical status for the possible opening of diplomatic relations between Washington and the Vatican".

1940, February: Roosevelt sends Myron Taylor as special envoy to the Vatican. In 1936, Taylor had said that "the whole world has been forced to admire the successes of Premier Mussolini in disciplining the nation". He had praised the conquest of Abyssinia.

1940, July: Three weeks after Petain assumed power, Pius XII tells French Roman Catholics to "aid in the national restoration". Petain's national restoration meant the abolition of the French Repub-

lic and all its liberal institutions.

1940, August: After several meetings with French Cardinals, the Vatican concludes an agreement with Vichy. All laws and regulations of the French Republic restricting the power of the Church especially in the field of education are abolished.

1941, February: The French Archbishops, after getting a message from Pius XII, issue a proclamation backing the Vichy regime.

1942, March: The first Japanese Ambassador to the Vatican is nominated. His name is Ken Harada. This took place after Pearl Harbor and when Japan was at the height of her military success.

1942, September: Roman Catholic hierarchical representatives of eight Latin American countries, the US and Canada concluded an Inter-American Seminar on Social Studies, called by the US National Catholic Welfare Conference, top rank of Catholic Action. The Seminar issued a statement blueprinting a post-war "democratic" form of the corporative fascist state for this hemisphere.

1943, April: "The Catholic Herald," official Vatican organ in Britain, says that the Pope refuses to approve the cause of the United Nations; "The endeavor of the United Nations and more especially of the United States, whose president undoubtedly holds the present Supreme Pontiff in very high regard, has been throughout to persuade the Pope that the interests of the world are bound up with an Allied victory and, therefore, obtain the Pope's openly expressed moral approbation of the Allied cause—or at least the Pope's open condemnation of the Axis cause...These efforts have failed."

1943, August: The Vatican radio (Aug. 10) speaks in favor of Badoglio and continuing the war against the United Nations.

1943, September: Vatican begins peace offensive which if successful would have saved fascist power in Europe.

1944, June: Russell Hill in a wireless from Vatican City to the "N.Y. Herald Tribune": "It is obvious that he (the Roman Pontiff) now believes the Allies will win the war and is taking great interest in the kind of peace that will follow, especially as regards Catholic countries...In the past the Vatican has opposed revolutionary forces by working with the Mussolinis, Francos and Petains...today, however, the Vatican seems to have made a significant shift of policy, hoping to gain the same ends by collaboration with the Anglo-Saxon powers."

1944, December: Pius XII in Christmas message makes open bid to subvert and take over American democracy as its tool. This was featured in American press as if the Papacy had honestly espoused the democratic cause.

1945, May: German Archbishop Groeber, after Germany's defeat, discussing the horrors of Nazism exclaimed, "However, in the eyes of God at least, we bear quite a bit of responsibility."

Pius XII now condemns "Satanic Nazism", but does not ask God's forgiveness for his part in it.

1946, January: Pius XII in encyclical "Orientales Omnes Ecclesias" defends Ukrainian Nazi bishops.

1946, February: Pius XII creates 32 new cardinals in a consistory at which the war-drums against Communism were beaten. One of the new cardinals was Mindszenty who as Rev. Joseph Prehm had helped the first fascist dictator of Europe, Horthy, fill the first concentration camp at Zalaegerszeg.

1946, July: Pius XII sends cable to President of Poland asking mercy for Arthur Greiser, once gauleiter hangman of Western Poland.

1946, August: American Knights of Columbus (Catholic Actionists under the Vatican) begin series of ads boosting Franco.

1946, August: Cardinal Hlond of Poland condones the Kielce pogrom because, he said, there were too many Jews in the government.

1947, August: Pius XII and US President exchange letters promising to help each other against Russia.

1947, September: Pius XII beats war drum before 100,000 Catholic Actionists in Rome.

1947, December: Article 7 of the new Italian Constitution perpetuates Mussolini's Lateran Treaty of 1929 in open contradiction to the terms of Peace Treaty.

1948, November: Conference of US Roman bishops openly advocate corporative state for America using the term "industry councils" instead of "corporations".

1950, December: Pius XII, according to Cianfarra in "N.Y. Times", backs Atlantic Pact which is based on German rearmament.

The Vatican and Protestantism

A few words must be added regarding the place of Protestantism in all this.

The churches of Protestantism developed during the capitalist era and just as the feudal barons were Roman Catholic so the biggest cartel barons are Protestant.

But the theory and practice of fascism developed in Roman Catholic countries, Italy, Spain, Portugal, Austria, Bavaria. The stifling climate of fascism fitted well with the climate of political religion.

Thus the Papacy, being the head and front of political religion, a power which had long been forgotten and relegated to footnotes in our history, a power which we almost totally ignored and thought of as an interesting relic of the days of chivalry, suddenly mushroomed over the earth wherever a group of its representatives could be found. As a fungus will appear in one foggy night on the leaves of every tree in an orchard, so, suddenly, this ultramontanist pest has appeared and has spread across the earth. And no Protestant fungicide has appeared to check it.

For moneyed Protestants no longer put such a high value on democracy. They begin to see some sense in the old authoritarian religion. They share its need for the same kind of a population: submissive, bovine, narrow-minded, small-spirited, contented, tame.

They share its fear of democracy, the very democracy in which they grew strong.

They share its terror of the man of love, the free spirit, the open and inquiring mind, the brave and humble man of scientific research.

It is not only Communism these powers are fighting. It is man himself, the very idea of man, the whole history of man. They want to obliterate history and make a new water-tight streamlined state of World Slavery. That's why these powers have associated with one another. They belong together.

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It is a thrill to rummage through the day's accumulation of paper upon one's desk, laying to one side smooth paper publications and learned journals, which hide or mumble the truth, to pounce with delight upon a mimeographed sheet which joyously blurts it out. Such is the "United People" of Saskatoon, Sask., edited by the Rev. C.P. Bradley, who wastes not an inch of his 10 page paper. Every sentence is a teacher, informing and feeding man's friends and shaming his enemies. His logic cuts sharp and his facts scatter fantasy. Here is one such fact:

"RUSSIAN ARMY IN EAST GERMANY? USA, UK, France persist in charging that Russia has organized, trained and equipped a powerful army of East Germans. This is the basis of their excuse for rearming Nazis in the West. Therefore, you can imagine how interested we all were to hear Dr. Martin Niemoller at Kingsway Hall on Feb. 23.

"Dr. Niemoller's Protestant Church members live mostly in East Germany; and for this reason, he has to make frequent visits 'behind the iron curtain'. He said to the large audience: 'The difference between me and your reporters is that I pay FREQUENT VISITS to East Germany. I have asked my friends in the East, I have asked large numbers of people in all walks of life, have they seen any training of Germans there? Have they heard of anyone being trained as a soldier? The answer was INVARIABLY THE SAME:

" 'NOT ONE MAN OR WOMAN HAS BEEN TRAINED OR IS BEING TRAINED as a soldier: not one person is being trained in the use of any military weapons of any kind. Therefore, if there is an Army in East Germany, the people of East Germany have no knowledge of it at all.' " ("United People", 223 9th St., Saskatoon, Sask., Canada.)

MACARTHUR: SCAPEGOAT OR CATAPULT?

General MacArthur holds high court in the Waldorf Towers, New York. Hoover and Taft visit him. Henry Luce drops in. The press interviews him every day. Through his secretary or in his own speeches he throws new fuel on the bonfire that lights up his triumphant tour through the states. Here is a Roman indeed.

Are the business leaders giving MacArthur the once-over with the thought of using him in some high symbolic office in a bi-partisan totalitarian regime for America? Opening the door to world war?

In a recent policy speech (reported "N.Y. Times" April 19) that frightened man, Acheson, bragged of General MacArthur's support of Acheson's and Dulles' plans for Japan. Truman is going easy on MacArthur—with emphasis. What's the play?

A soldier disobeys the orders of his superior officer on the battlefield, thus endangering lives and jeopardizing battle plans. He is court-martialed and punished, perhaps shot. But if his name is MacArthur and he has repeatedly and persistently disobeyed his Commander-in-Chief, endangering the lives, not of a platoon but of three continents, is he shot? Imprisoned? Demoted? Reprimanded? Don't be foolish. It's in the pictures, on the air, the big build-up is everywhere. And remember, it couldn't have got anywhere unless the powers, the big money-big gun-big pulpit powers and their political puppets had not willed it so. World War III has found its articulation in MacArthur.

How many brick houses do the American people need to fall on them before it dawns on them that they are in the very middle of the process of being catapulted into a business police state bent on war NOW? To whom shall we talk seriously when in one city alone seven million people acclaim their destroyer?

A few facts as to where MacArthur stood in War II which FDR refused to call anti-fascist. Taken from Hugh Deane's articles in "The Daily Compass" these facts are beyond dispute.

MacArthur (1) supported Roxas, Philippine collaborator and quisling, thus clearing all traitors; (2) Aug. 15, 1945, through his air intelligence officer, Cunningham, claimed Pacific Ocean for America, to be "just as American as Cayuga Lake in New York"; (3) (Oct., 1945) called Japan "springboard" for attack on Asia; (4) "hailed not only the elections in Japan, in which coercion has been an increasingly important factor, but the April, 1946, elections in the Philippines and the October, 1946, and May, 1948, elections in South Korea, which were held under extraordinary conditions of violence and fraud"; (5) reported (Nov. 1946) by Mark Gayn of "Chicago Sun" to favor direct attack on Chinese Communists, using Japan as ally and base; (6) Aug. 15, 1948 told Seoul audience that 38th Parallel "must and will be torn down"; "Your policies", he told terrorist Rhee, "will determine in large measure, not only the unity and well-being of your people but also the future stability of the continent of Asia." (7) cynically destroyed Allied Council for Japan by grossly insulting the Russian member who, according to the British member, behaved "with dignity, courtesy and restraint."

In other words it is no figure of speech to call this man an emperor. Up to this moment, backed by the US government, he has ac-

tually played the role. Hugh Deane says, "The dark forces of American politics long ago seized upon MacArthur, the giant hero, and they have fused the issues themselves into the general mythology of calculated superpatriotism. Until his dismissal MacArthur was a distant oracle; now he is the god returned in wrath to his people."

As we write, at the end of April, the fever still rages. James Reston in the "N.Y. Times" says General Marshall was afraid a couple of weeks ago that the American people were going to sleep. Now, since MacArthur has struck them, he is afraid they are going crazy. All of which shows how unstable is the country's temper as it reacts to these artificially induced war scares. Deep down, the people know the whole thing is a sham. Yet, perversely, they ride along with it while they can eat and go to the baseball games. Labor goes along, little business and farmers go along, because they are persuaded they have a stake in the armament economy and they do not realize that an economy to which armament production becomes essential produces a state to which war becomes essential. They do not realize that the war must first be won against the people at home before it can be carried on abroad. The people at home must be taken captive and kept in ignorance and terror, ignorance of facts, terror of Communists.

Much of this has been accomplished. We believe the people of the US would ride along today with a war in which there were not too many American casualties, a convenient war. The savage slogans "operation killer", "meat-grinder", communiques telling of the vast number of the enemy killed—these do two things: they tend to brutalize the home population while taking its mind off its own casualties.

To say that the people of the US would likely go along with an imperial grab by their rulers is not to say that these people are worse than any other people The English people went along with the Opium War. The German people went along with the slaughter of the Jews. The American people are not rebelling against the slaughter of the Koreans. They do not worry about the imprisonment of Communists. The raw cruelty of empire has always been screened from the eyes of the people. It is unlikely, for instance, today if many Englishmen ever heard of the phrase "planters' music" used in Malaya to describe the bombs which devastate Malay villages. The "N.Y. Times" which was disgusted beyond measure when the Nazis bombed Norwegian villages, is quite complacent over the twelve-minute obliteration bombing of Korean cities. And the people, taking their cue from the written and spoken words of those they respect, cry no shame upon the man who ordered this wanton slaughter. Indeed they accept this man as a hero, a martyr.

Yes, the people of the US are just people, innocents who live for the blessed moment, jalopies, Bob Hope, home-runs, hot dogs and the funnies. They are not equipped, morally or politically to cope with their rulers who allow these amenities to trickle down to them to divert and siphon off the dynamics of their decency.

The US ruling class has not yet made up its mind on MacArthur. It may not be possible to align all sections of that class behind him. But the very fact that at least some powerful groups are throwing in with him, and that his "mystique" is being sprayed over the country, even into Canada, should alert us to the very great probability that some

personal focus, not necessarily MacArthur, will soon be found in and around whom an American "democratic" "anti-totalitarian" "God-loving" "free enterprise" fascism can be concentrated and built up.

Indeed MacArthur, if he fails to fill the bill of leader, could be turned into a foil for some one else. In other words, just as he has been made the goat for the sins of Acheson-Truman in the foreign front, so he could similarly be made the goat on the home front. He could be set up as the fascist against whom the real fascists would be swept to power. But whatever way it will come, as the Irish put it, it is already here.

Is there any hope? Yes. In 1948 (June-July) we said:

"Since our present rulers have identified democracy with capitalism and declared war on socialist countries as and when they come into being then it follows that if the nations of Western Europe freely and democratically choose Socialism and if, further, similar or sympathetic governments are formed by the long-oppressed and now awakening peoples of the Near East, Africa, India, and China, then the American hemisphere will have isolated itself...

"Forrestal, Dulles and Lovett are a new set of names on the window of a very old business...of ruling vast territories and masses of people, of exploiting them and of keeping them in subjection. This business requires (1) great skill and experience on the part of the imperialist, (2) acquiescence by the home population in the imperialist role and (3) a passive colonial population asleep in its age-old acceptance of things as they are.

"Our present firm possesses neither the skill nor the experience; the colonial populations have awakened from their long sleep; and the American people are far from sold on the adventure."

This holds true today. Forrestal jumped out of a window. And Acheson, Dulles & Co. have taken leave of their senses.

Throughout the capitalist world they point their guns at people with one hand and hold out baskets of bread with the other and tell them to move over—to the Right. These men do not represent the common sense of the American people, who if allowed to think one unsupervised thought might conceivably want socialism for themselves. Certainly no nation could have more abundance for everybody under socialism than the United States. Yet even to mention such a thing today is considered treason and blasphemy. Yet they talk of a Great Debate!

Britain has taken some steps towards socialism. France is not yet socialist, but she needs socialism as do Germany and Italy. Bevan's break with his party's war policy may help to precipitate a European-wide break with a kind of Americanization which bids fair to fulfill Veblen's dire prophecy of the Prussianizing (read fascizing) of the US. Britain is beginning to show a spirit of independence. Of what use will Europe be to the US aggressors without Britain? So we have written to Mr. Bevan in the hope that he and Jenny Lee and their group may be the means of precipitating some sense into the Western World before it is too late.

LETTER TO "NYE" BEVAN

Dear Mr. Bevan:

Forgive the intrusion—but the times are such that even a religious paper belonging to very humble people may speak to those in authority—the men of the state. May speak? Must speak!

For we, all of us everywhere, stand in the middle of the roads of Korea. It is but a matter of a little time until we suffer the fate of that country, our children burned with us in jellied petroleum, the tides of our beloved Acadie comfortless, there being none to comfort, our orchards grinning charcoal into a blistered desert. Unless.

Unless you in Britain make war impossible. This you can do.

You belong to a group, within the party now governing Britain, which grows restive under the discipline of present USA leadership. But perhaps you may not be sufficiently aware that the inspiration of that leadership insofar as it is self-conscious runs back to the traditions of an empire, predating and postdating the British, namely, the Roman.

The dream of the Armada, broken on the rock of Britain, turned West across the ocean, and is being fulfilled in the Americas, which means that the British rule, developed in the age of sail and steam, of Burns and Shelley, of Kingsley and Dickens, of hope and faith ill-founded but sincere, has been replaced by the American rule which has arrived in this after-time of atomic power, of Eliot and Pound, frantically searching foreign soils for their dried and broken roots, of Spellman and Dulles, cold haters of mankind.

The use of the same language, quoting the English Bible, echoing the windy protests of loyalty to a common Western Christian civilization, has prevented many of you from seeing things as they are in this quarter of the world. Recent incidents, however, may have revealed some of the bones of the real threat to the real free world:

the MacArthur incident including his reception by the badly confused American people; Acheson's approval of Dulles' plot to regularize MacArthur's already well-advanced rearming of Japan; the sending of 100 US military officers and vast quantities of war material to Taiwan; the warning to Marshallized Europe by chief marshaller W. C. Foster, that the "time has come" for the pay-off in arming Europe for war and tightening the civilian belt (which has run out of notches);

straws in the wind of things to come, such as interference in French educational life (closing the Superior Normal School, Paris, because its students didn't like Ike); censorship (through Stassen) of Pakistan's "dissemination of dangerous opinions"; use of Nazi generals (e.g. Otto Heusinger, Chief of Operations Section of Hitler's General Staff); the plan to use Tito as "cheapest ally" and for Greek-Turkey-Yugoslav military union; the import of coal to Britain (coals to Newcastle) where dim-outs and freeze-outs save coal for war production; changing the Dutch government because Ike found lack of war fever in Holland; cornering the world's wool, rubber, tin, sulphur, etc., thus upsetting and distorting world trade, this being one cause of present pov-

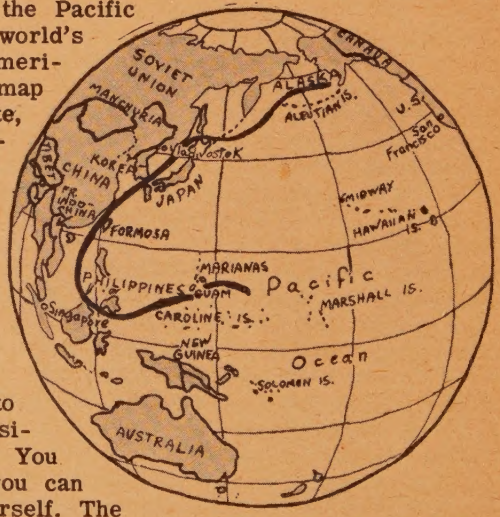
erty in Britain; sponsorship of Jap drive to capture markets of southeast Asia; direct intervention in Vietnam; invasion of Nicaragua through "colonists"; pressure on Lebanon for troop transit rights, installations etc.; use of Liberia as focal point for penetration into Africa;

other straws, like setting up new "Arab Legion" with Nazi elements in a general campaign to dominate oil-rich Middle East (Aramco pact with Saudi Arabia, Jan. 1951), taking 7 new bases in French Morocco; admirals and agents scurrying back and forth in Middle East and Mediterranean tying up an anti-Soviet alliance; cracking the whip over 21 Latin American countries to speed up "defence" and stop domestic dissidence; forming a "foreign legion" of Nazi POW's, Anders' troops and other riff-raff, also speeding plans to bring Spain into Atlantic war bloc;

not to speak of what your UN delegate must have told you, unblushing domination of the UN turning it into an anti-Soviet war coalition; destruction of Korea's cities and towns and millions of her people with jellied petroleum and other bombs.

Your erstwhile colleague Mr. Herbert Morrison appears piqued because the US has arranged to "protect" certain parts of the British Commonwealth without asking the "adherence" of Great Britain. Thus one might suppose it would be all right with Mr. Morrison for the US to "take over" if only Britain were permitted to "adhere". Even the imperious Churchill can find no more to growl over than the choice of military leaders under whom to be destroyed.

Perhaps you remember the maps in our childhood geographies with the British Empire colored red. Well, look at this map from the "N.Y. Times", called the Pacific defense line, in which the world's largest ocean becomes an American lake. Another (Army) map shows this land where we write, a land hallowed by those passionate lovers of peace, the Acadian Neutrals, as a piece of US territory. Canada suddenly wakes up to find herself the Arctic base for the US war against the USSR and therefor a prime target and battle area between these powers.



You don't need to be reminded of your own position as a like battle area. You can enter East Anglia, if you can get a pass, and see for yourself. The German people can see what their entrance into this patently offensive Atlantic Alliance would mean for their country. So can the French people. But the English, bless them, fail as yet to see through the transparent hypocrisy of the present rulers of the US who insult the Chinese by closing the UN door in their faces and chafe the wound by retaining

as a UN member the symbolic ghost of their own most monumental failure, Chiang Kai-shek.

Against this high handedness the British had a weapon, the veto, which was designed for just such a contingency. But they went right along with the gag—and gag it was.

The British government has recognized China, yet British troops are fighting Chinese troops defending their borders and the integrity of their immediate neighbor. The British dissociated themselves from the unilateral illegal act of war by the US President who sent his fleet to blockade the coastal waters of China. But that dissociation was worse than nothing. It was a piece of paper that needed no tearing up for at the very time it was written bombs were already falling in the attack on Korea, planned, co-ordinated and simultaneously delivered with the blockade of China.

We need not quibble about who attacked whom in Korea. The generals who were in a huddle on the eve of the outbreak do not bear Russian names. The statesman poring over the military maps in the trenches at the 38th parallel was not Molotov. A US adviser to the Iranian Army who served on MacArthur's staff tells that he knew of the US plan for the "unification of Korea" and that the war started on direct orders from American Headquarters in Tokyo.

The events preceding this war have no meaning except on the premise that the US was determined to grab Korea as a part of the chain of bases from which she hopes to dominate Asia. Concrete documentary evidence on this breach of Korean self-determination, by an agency created to protect it, has been ignored in the UN, which was stampeded by the US into an act of criminal folly. Liberals and socialists all over the world were misdirected when your Labor Government went along with the act. Your UN delegate contributed shamefully to an utterly hypocritical and legalistic defence of illegality which will be difficult indeed, if not impossible, for the UN to live down.

Britain, you say, wants to be a third force, or the leader of a third force, between the US and USSR. But how can she be a third force if she continues to be a military convenience of the US?

A third force must be a force. She must have control of her own guns. Her guns must not all point one way. They must point in both directions. Otherwise this whole idea of a third force becomes only a rationalization or cloak for collusion with capitalism's operation-killer.

It may be possible to stand outside and between the two power blocs, but certainly Britain's adherence to the Atlantic Pact is adherence to the designs of one bloc and is opposed to the desires of the other. This is not even trying to be a third force.

In her fear of appeasing the USSR Britain has gotten herself into the position of currying favor with Russia's sworn enemy. She has aligned herself in one camp. She has become the convenience of the cartels whose headquarters are in the US and which are using the US military and diplomatic apparatus to "organize" the non-communist world and to shape it to their own ends. It has no use for third forces. Nor, so long as these "third forces" serve the cartel world, has the USSR any use for them. Only in a state of peace can there be third forces and indeed fourth and fifth forces.

This brings us to the torturing question of our day: peace!

Because Britain is a vital power with great resourcefulness and inventiveness, and because she is strategically situated to throw her weight to the side of the rising peoples everywhere, she can do much for the cause of peace.

But Britain can play her part for peace only if she resolutely turns her back on the remnants of her colonialism while carrying to its conclusion her socialist revolution at home. It is true that she desperately needs raw materials. Her present method of taking them at the point of the bayonet negates her own socialism and keeps her at the mercy of US power politics. She must declare her independence from the rising empire and join the rising peoples. When she begins trading for raw materials with the independent republics which replace her colonies, these will gladly welcome her manufactured goods and her machinery. For this will be people trading with people. This is the way, and the only way, for Britain to get the materials she needs for her life.

Britain will never be free to do these things while she remains on the cartel leash. She must declare her independence. She must have her own Boston Tea Party.

This means that foreign bomber bases must vacate her shores. With no delay. And every vestige of foreign troops. For while they remain there can be no honest negotiation with the proposed victims of these bombers, the USSR.

Britain must cease being a base for activities over which she has no control. It is Britain who sits in the driver's seat. It is time she put her hand on the steering wheel. And on the brake.

Go to the British people and tell them of the terrible doom towards which they now move. Tell them of the historic challenge which awaits them. This is their choice: to be the expendable bulwark of a power which fattens on war or break with that power.

If the issue is placed squarely before the British people we are confident that their common sense will prevail. And when this nightmare of war has passed the people of the world will be grateful to you, none more grateful than the people of the US and Canada.

The Editor of The Protestant is at the extreme left of the religious spectrum, a Baptist of the old Anabaptist tradition. The Associate Editor is a priest of the Anglican Communion, a member of the Society of Socialist Clergy. Both of us, along with the great majority of the clergy in Eastern Protestantism and a growing number of dissident clergy in Western Protestantism watched the British Labor Party for a time with hopeful affection and later with fearful disillusion.

It is therefore natural that we look upon your break with the subservient war policy of the government as a pledge of your determination to carry this fight to the trade unions and to the little people where the real power of Britain resides.

Take the position: to forswear empire, to build socialism, to create peace. Do not be moved from it. Each day's events will push the people to your position. We shall pray for you and help you in all possible ways.

Sincerely,

Kenneth Leslie, Editor, The Protestant

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